

5
A KEY FOR KINGS.

Integrity the best Security:

A

PATRIOT KING,

The Best PRINCE to make

A NATION Prosperous, and it's
GOVERNMENT Firm and Lasting.

Mercy and Truth preserve the King : and his Throne is upholden
by Mercy. PROV. xx. 28.

Take away the Wicked from before the King, and his Throne
shall be established in Righteousness. Ibid. xxv. 5.

Say unto the King, and to the Queen, Humble yourselves, sit down ;
for your Principalities shall come down, even the Crown of
Glory. JER. xiii. 18.

They make the King glad with their Wickedness, and the Princes
with their Lies. HOSEA vii. 3.

Now why dost thou cry out aloud ? is there no King in thee ? is
thy counsellor perished ? for Pangs have taken thee as a Woman
in Travail. MICAH iv. 9.

That the Hypocrite reign not, lest the People be ensnared.
Surely it is meet to be said unto GOD, I have born Chastisement,
I will not offend any more.

That which I set not, teach thou me : if I have done iniquity, I
will do no more. JOB xxx. 30, 31, 32.

BIRMINGHAM: Printed by M. SWINNEY.

Sold by WILLIAM PENRICE, in Drotwitch, Worcestershire.

M.DCC.LXXV.

B22027.75.5525

A KEY FOR LING



PATRICK G. F. Parkman

THE DEB PRINCIPLE to make

A Nation Prosperous, and its

GOVERNMENT should follow

There are many people who believe the King, and his throne, is the source of all evil. They say that the King is the cause of all the trouble in the world, and that if we only get rid of him, all will be well. But this is a very foolish idea. The King is not the cause of any trouble in the world. He is only a man, like any other man, and he is only as good as the people who surround him. If the King is a good man, and if he is surrounded by good people, he will be a good King. If the King is a bad man, and if he is surrounded by bad people, he will be a bad King. It is not the King who is the cause of trouble, but the people who surround him. It is not the King who is the cause of evil, but the people who surround him. It is not the King who is the cause of all the trouble in the world, but the people who surround him. It is not the King who is the cause of all the evil in the world, but the people who surround him. It is not the King who is the cause of all the trouble in the world, but the people who surround him. It is not the King who is the cause of all the evil in the world, but the people who surround him.

THE DEB PRINCIPLE to make
A Nation Prosperous, and its
GOVERNMENT should follow

INTRODUCTION.

IT seems to me, that no Secrets are so important to be known, no Hearts deserve to be pried into with more Curiosity and Attention, than those of Princes.

The Principles I shall reason upon are interwoven in the Texture of Human Nature. They derive their Origin from that Source, from whence all the Duties of Public and Private Morality must be deduced, or they will be often falsely, and always precariously established. To this Source there are few Men who take the Pains to go : and open as it lies, there are not many who can find their Way to it.

The Iniquity of all the principal Men in any Community, of Kings and Ministers especially, does not consist alone in the Crimes they commit, and in the immediate Consequences of those Crimes ; such Men sin against Posterity, as well as against their own Age ; and though the Effects of their Crimes should cease, the Fruits of the Example remain.

A wiser and honefter Adminiftration may draw us back to our former Credit and Influence abroad, from that State of Contempt into which we are funk among all our Neighbours. But will the *British Spirit*, that Spirit which has preferved Liberty hitherto in one Corner of the World at leaft, be fo *eafily*, or fo *foon reinfused* into the *British Nation*? I think not. To perform fo great a Work, as to *awaken* the Spirit of *Liberty*; to reform the Morals, and to raife the *Sentiments* of a People, much Time is required.

Nothing can fo furely and fo effectually reftore the Virtue, the Public Spirit, effential to the Prefervation of Liberty, and National Prosperity, as the Reign of a Patriot King. But let us not neglect, on our Part, fuch Means as are in our Power, to keep the Caufe of Truth, of Reason, of Virtue, and of Liberty alive. If the Bleffing be withheld from us, let us deserve at leaft that it fhould be granted to us. Should Heaven in Mercy beftow it on us, let us prepare to receive it, to improve it, and to hand it down inviolate to the lateft Posterity.

THE

THE
C H A R A C T E R
O F A
P A T R I O T K I N G,
By different ABSTRACTS from Lord
B O L I N G B R O K E.

MY Intention is not to introduce what I have to say concerning the *Duties of Kings*, by any nice Inquiry into the *Original* of their Institution; but what this Institution *ought* to have been, whenever it *began*, according to the Rule of *Reason*, founded in the common *Rights* and Interest of Mankind. In this Case, as in all those of great Concernment, the shortest and the surest Method of arriving at real Knowledge, is to unlearn the Prejudices we have imbibed, to revert to *first* Principles, and not adopt Opinions from others, whatever Sanction they may have received from the Station or Authority of their Abettors.

Now

Now he who does so, in this Case, will discover soon, that the Notions concerning the *Divine Institution* and Right of Kings, as well as the *absolute Power* belonging to their Office, have no Foundation in Fact or Reason, but have risen from an *old Alliance* between *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Policy*.

The Authors of such Inventions as are of general Use to the Well-being of Mankind, were not only revered and obeyed during their Lives, but adored and idolized after their Deaths : they became principal Gods, *Dii majorum gentium*. The Founders of Commonwealths, the Lawgivers, and the Heroes of particular States, became Gods of the second Class, *Dii minorum gentium*. Majesty was the first, and *Divinity* the second Reward : both were earned by Services done Mankind, whom it was easy to lead in those Days of Simplicity and Superstition, from Admiration and Gratitude, to Adoration and Expectation.

When Advantage had been taken by some particular Men of these Dispositions in the Generality, and Religion and Government were become two Trades or Mysteries, new Means of attaining to this Pre-eminence were soon devised, and new and even contrary Motives worked the same Effects. Men were then made *Kings* for Reasons as little relative to good *Government*, as the Neighing of the Horse of the Son of *Hystaspes*. But the

the most prevalent, and the general Motive, was *Proximity of Blood* to the *last*, not to the *best* King.

I esteem Monarchy above any other Form of Government, and Hereditary Monarchy above Elective.

We are subject, by the Constitution of Human Nature, and therefore by the Author of it, to two Laws; one given immediately to all Men by God, *i. e.* the universal Law of Reason; the other given to Man by Man, *i. e.* the particular Law, or Constitution of Laws, by which every distinct Community has chosen to be governed. The Obligation of Submission to both is discoverable by so clear and so simple an Use of our intellectual Faculties, that it may be said properly enough to be *revealed to us by God*. The Law of *Nature* is the Law of *all* his Subjects: the Constitution of *particular* Governments are like the *By-Laws* of Cities, or the appropriated Customs of Provinces. It follows, therefore, that he who breaks the *Laws* of his *Country*, resists the *Ordinance* of God; that is, his Nature and Will. From such plain, unrefined, and therefore I suppose true Reasoning, the *just Authority* of *Kings*, and the *due Obedience* of *Subjects*, may be deduced with the utmost Certainty.

But the Principles we have laid down do not stop here. A Divine Right in Kings is to be deduced evidently from them. A
divine

divine Right to govern *well*, and conformably to the Constitution, at the Head of which they are placed. A divine Right to govern *ill*, is an Absurdity ; to assert it, is Blasphemy. A *good* King alone can derive his Right from God. God has made us to desire Happiness : He has made our Happiness dependent on Society, and the Happiness of Society dependent on good or bad Government : His Intention therefore was, that Government should be *good*.

The Office of Kings is then of *Right Divine*, and their Persons are to be reputed *sacred*. As Men they have no such *Right*, no such Sacredness belonging to them ; as *Kings* they have both, unless they forfeit them. In short, Majesty is not an inherent, but a reflected Light.

All this is as true of *elective*, as it is of *hereditary* Monarchs : they are sacred alike, and this Attribute is to be ascribed, or not ascribed to them, as they answer, in pure *Speculation* : then, an hereditary Right in any Mortal to govern other Men is vague and indefensible ; and yet in *Practice*, nothing can be more absurd than to have a King to choose at every Vacancy of a Throne. For in elective Monarchies, these Elections, whether well or ill made, are often attended with such *national Calamities*, that even the best Reigns cannot make Amends for them ; whereas in hereditary Monarchy, whether a
good

good or a *bad* Prince succeeds, these Calamities are avoided. In this respect, the Advantage is entirely on the Side of hereditary Succession.

To conclude this Head therefore, as I think a *limited Monarchy* the best of Governments, so I think an *hereditary Monarchy* the best of Monarchies.

Among many Reasons which determine me to prefer *Monarchy* to every Form of Government, this is a principal one. When *Monarchy* is the essential Form, it may be more easily and more usefully tempered with *Aristocracy* or *Democracy*, or both, than either of *them*, when *they* are the essential Forms, can be *tempered* with *Monarchy*. In short, with Reverence be it spoken, God is a Monarch, yet not an arbitrary but a limited Monarch, limited by the *Rule* which *infinite Wisdom* prescribes to *infinite Power*. If governing without any *Rule*, and by *arbitrary Will*, be not essential to our Idea of *Monarchy* of the *Supreme Being*, it is plainly ridiculous to suppose them necessarily included in the Idea of *Monarchy* of the *Supreme Being*; it is plainly ridiculous to suppose them necessarily included in the Idea of *human Monarchy*; and it will be just as ridiculous to affirm, that the Idea of human Monarchy cannot be preserved, if Kings are obliged to govern according to a *Rule* established by the *Wisdom* of a State, that was a State before
B
they

they were Kings, and by the Consent of a People that they did not most certainly *create*; especially when the whole executive Power is exclusively in their Hands, and the legislative Power cannot be exercised without their Concurrence.

There are *Limitations* indeed that would destroy the *essential Form* of Monarchy; or, in other Words, a Monarchial Constitution may be changed, under Pretence of limiting a Monarch. This happened among us in the last Century, when the vilest Usurpation, and the most infamous Tyranny, were established over our Nation, by some of the worst, and some of the meanest Men in it. *Limitations* on a Crown ought to be carried *as far* as it is necessary to secure the Liberties of a People; and *such Limitations* may subsist, without weakening or endangering Monarchy.

The Limitations necessary to preserve Liberty under Monarchy, will restrain effectually a *bad Prince*, without being ever *felt* as *Shackles* by a *good* one. Our Constitution is brought, or almost brought, to such a Point, a Point of Perfection I think it, that no *King* who is not, in the true Meaning of the Word, a Patriot, can govern *Britain* with *Ease*, *Security*, *Honour*, *Dignity*, or indeed with *sufficient Power* and *Strength*. But yet a *King*, who is a Patriot, may govern with *all* the former; and besides them, with Power as extended

extended as the most absolute Monarch can boast, and a Power too far more agreeable in the Enjoyment, as well as more effectual in the Operation.

To attain these great and noble Ends, the Patriotism must be *real*, and not in *Shew alone*. Patriotism must be founded in *great Principles*, and supported by great *Virtues*; and I will not scruple to assert, that a Man can be a *good King* upon no other.

By the Flattery that environs Kings most commonly from their Cradles, they are bred to esteem themselves of a *distinct* and *superior Species* among *Men*, as *Men* are among the inferior *Animals*. They imagine themselves the final Cause for which Societies were formed, and Governments instituted.

This capital Error, in which almost every Prince is confirmed by his *Education*, has so great Extent, and so general Influence, that a Right to do every iniquitous Thing in Government may be derived from it.

Another Cause of the Mistakes of Princes, is the general Conduct of those who are brought near to their Persons. All such Men should bear constantly in Mind, that the Master they serve is to be the *King* of their *Country*; that their Attachment to him, therefore, is not to be like that of other Servants to other *Masters*, for *his* sake alone, or for *his* sake and *their own*, but for the sake of *their Country* likewise.

As to Persons who are not about a Prince, they can do little more than proportion their Applause, and Demonstrations of their Confidence and Affection, to the Benefits they actually receive from the Prince on the Throne, or to the just Expectations that a Successor gives them. If he gives them Expectations of a bad Reign, they have this Obligation to him at least, that he puts them early on their Guard.

It is true, that a Prince who gives just Reason to expect that his Reign will be that of a *Patriot King*, may not always meet, and from all Persons, such Returns as such Expectations deserve: But they must not hinder either the Prince from continuing to give them, or the People from continuing to acknowledge them. United, none can hurt them; and if no Artifice interrupts, no Power can defeat the Effects of their Perseverance. It will blast many a wicked Project, keep Virtue in Countenance, and Vice to some Degree at least in Awe.

But will it not be said, that this is advising a King to rouse a Spirit which may turn against himself? to refuse to be an *absolute Monarch*, when every Circumstance invites him to it? These Judgments and these Reasonings may be expected in an Age as futile and as corrupt as ours: In an Age wherein so many betray the Cause of Liberty, and act not only without Regard, but in direct Opposi-

Opposition to the most important Interests of their Country : In an Age, when to assert the Truth is called Spreading of Delusion, and to assert the Cause of Liberty and good Government is termed sowing of Sedition.

Since Men were directed by Nature to form *Societies*, because Society cannot be maintained without them, nor subsist in a State of Anarchy ; the ultimate End of all Government is the *Good* of the *People*, for *whose Sake* they were made, and *without whose Consent* they could not have been made. Now the greatest Good of a People, is their Liberty. The Obligation, therefore, to defend and maintain the Freedom of such Constitutions, will appear most sacred to a Patriot King.

The Constitution will be considered by him as *one Law*, consisting of two *Tables*, containing the Rule of his Government, and the Measure of his Subjects Obedience ; or as *one System*, composed of *different Parts* and *Power*, but all duly proportioned to one another, and conspiring by their Harmony to the Perfection of the Whole. He will make one and *but one* Distinction between his Rights, and those of his People : He will look on his to be a *Trust*, and theirs a *Property*. In fine, the *Constitution* will be considered by him as the *Law of God* and of *Man* ; the Force of which binds him much more.

A Prince,

A Prince, who does not know the *true Principles*, cannot propose to himself the *true Ends of Government* ; and he, who does not propose them, will never direct his Conduct steadily to them. The Vegetable or the Animal grows in Bulk, and increases in Strength ; but is the *same from the first*. Just so our *Patriot King* must be a Patriot from the first. He must be such in Resolution, before he grows such in Practice. He must fix at once *the general Principles and Ends* of all his Actions, and determine that his whole Conduct shall be regulated by them, and directed to them.

The Freedom of a Constitution rests on two Points ; the *Orders* of it are one, the *Spirit* and *Character* of the *People* are the other. On the mutual Conformity and Harmony of these the Preservation of Liberty depends. To take away, or essentially to alter the former cannot be brought to pass, whilst the latter remains in original Purity and Vigor. But these *Orders* of the State may be essentially altered, and serve more effectually to the Destruction of Liberty, than the taking of them away would serve, if the *Spirit* and *Character* of the *People* are lost.

If a *People* is growing corrupt, the most incapable, awkward, ungracious, shocking, profligate, and timorous Wretches, invested with Power, and Masters of the Purse, will be sufficient for the Work, when the *People* are

are Accomplices in it. Their Consciences will be soon seared by *Habit* and *Example*; and they who wanted an *Excuse to begin*, will want *now to continue* and to *complete* the Tragedy of their Country. Old Men will outlive the Shame of losing Liberty, and young Men will arise, who know not that it ever existed. A Spirit of Slavery will oppose and oppress the Spirit of Liberty, and seem at least to be the Genius of the Nation. Such too it will become in Time, when Corruption has once grown to this Height, unless the Progress of it can be interrupted.

A free Commonwealth can neither be maintained by a *corrupt People*, nor be established among them.

To preserve Liberty by *new* Laws and *new* Schemes of Government, whilst the Corruption of a People continues and grows, is absolutely impossible every where; but to restore and to preserve it under *old* Laws, and an old Constitution, by reinfusing into the Minds of Men the *Spirit of this Constitution*, is not only possible, but is, in a particular Manner, easy to a *King*.

As soon as Corruption ceases to be an Expedient of Government; (and it will cease to be such, as soon as a Patriot King is raised to the Throne;) the *Panacea* is applied, the Spirit of the Constitution revives of Course; and as fast as it revives, the Orders and Forms of the Constitution are restored to their
primi-

primitive Integrity, and becomes what they were intended to be, *real Barriers* against Arbitrary Power, not *Blinds* nor *Masks*, under which Tyranny may be concealed. A Patriot King is the most powerful of all Reformers; for he is himself a sort of stand Miracle, so rarely seen, and so little understood, that the sure Effects of this Appearance will raise Admiration and Love in every honest Breast, Confusion and Terror to every guilty Conscience, but Submission and Resignation in all.

Such a King must begin to govern, as soon as he begins to reign. His first Care will be, no doubt, to *purge his Court*. All the Prostitutes who set themselves to sale, all the Locusts who devour the Land, with Crouds of Spies, Parasites, and Sycophants, will surround the Throne, under the Patronage of busy and bold, avaricious and vain Ministers, and whole Swarms of little noisome nameless Insects, will hum and buz in every Corner of the Court. Such Ministers will be cast off, and such Abettors of Ministry will be chased away together, and at once, by a *Patriot King*.

Some of them perhaps will be abandoned by him, not to Party-Fury, but to National Justice; not to suit private Resentment, and to serve particular Interests, but to make Satisfaction for Wrongs done to the Country, and to stand as Examples of Terror to future Administrations.

His

His second Care will be that of calling to his Administration such Men as he can assure himself will *serve* on the *same Principles* on which he intends to *govern*. A good Prince will no more choose ill Men, than a wise Prince will choose Fools. Every Man, who stands forward enough in Rank and Reputation to be called to the Councils of his King, must have given Proofs beforehand of his Patriotism as well as of his Capacity, if he has either, sufficient to determine his general Character.

To espouse no Party, but to govern like a common Father of his People, is as essential to the Character of a Patriot King, as that of a Patriarchal Family, where the Head and all the Members are united by one common Interest, and animated by one common Spirit; where, if any are the constitutional Strength of the Crown, and on the Concurrence of his People to whom he dares appeal, and by whom he will be supported.

A bad Prince will not mend the Administration, as long as he can oppose the justest and most popular Opposition: And therefore this Opposition will last and grow, as long as a free Constitution is in force, and the Spirit of Liberty is preserved; for so long even a Change of his Ministers, without a Change of his Measures, will not be sufficient. If the National Cause prevails against all the wicked Arts of Corruption and Division, that

an obstinate Prince and flagitious Ministry can employ, yet will the Struggles be long, and the Difficulties, the Distresses, and the Danger great, both to the King and to the People. If the wicked Arts I speak of prevail, Faction will be propagated through the whole Nation, universal Confusion will follow, and a compleat Victory on one Side will enslave all Sides. And therefore how much more safe, more easy, more pleasant, more honourable is it, for a Prince to correct, if he has not prevented Maladministration? A Patriot King will list no Party, much less will he do the meanest and most imprudent Thing a King can do, list himself in any.

When the People is *divided* about *Submission to their Prince*, and a Party is formed of Spirit and Strength sufficient to oppose, even in Arms, the established Government, even in this Case, desperate as it may seem, a Patriot King will not despair of reconciling, and re-uniting his Subjects to himself; and to another, he will prevent the Flame from breaking out, if by Art and Management he can do it: If he cannot, he will endeavour to keep it from spreading; and if the Phrenzy of Rebellion disappoints him in both these Attempts, he will remember Peace in the midst of War; in the Heat of Battle he will spare, and in the Triumph of Victory condescend: He will beat down the Violence of
this

this Flame, by his Valour, and extinguish even the Embers of it, by his Lenity.

It results therefore from all that has been said, and from the Reflection which these Hints may suggest, that in whatever Light we view the *divided State* of a People, there is none in which these Divisions will appear incurable, nor an Union of the Members of a great Community with one another, and with their Head, unattainable.

Factions are in particular States, what Nations are in the World; they invade and rob one another: And while each pursues a separate Interest, the common Interest is sacrificed by them all. This has been and must always be, in some Measure, the Course of Human Affairs, especially in free Countries, where the Passions of Men are less restrained by Authority: And I am not wild enough to suppose, that a Patriot King can change Human Nature; but I am reasonable enough to suppose, that without altering Human Nature, he may give a Check to this Course of human Affairs, in his own Kingdom at least; that he may defeat the Designs, and break the Spirit of Faction, instead of partaking in one, and assuming the other; and that if he cannot render the Union of his Subjects universal, he may render it so general, as to answer all the Ends of good Government, private Security, public Tranquillity, Wealth, Power, and Fame.

If these Ends were ever answered, they were so surely in the Days of our *Elizabeth*. She found her Kingdom full of Factions, and Factions of another Consequence and Danger than those of our Days, whom she would have dispersed with a Puff of her Breath. She could not re-unite them, it is true; but she united the great Body of the People in her and their *common Interest*, she inflamed them with *one National Spirit*, and thus armed, she maintained Tranquillity at Home, and carried Succour to her Friends, and Terror to her Enemies abroad. Thus a wise and good *Prince* can unite a divided People, though a weak and wicked Prince cannot; and the Consequences of National Union, are Glory and Happiness to the *Prince* and to the *People*, whilst those of Disunion bring Shame and Misery on both, and entail them too on Posterity.

Hitherto it has been thought the highest Pitch of Profligacy to own, instead of concealing Crimes; and to take Pride in them, instead of being ashamed of them. But in our Age Men have soared to a Pitch still higher. They contend that it is necessary to be so by *Principle*. They make themselves Missionaries of Faction, as well as Corruption: They recommend both, deride all such as imagine it possible, or fit, to retain Truth, Integrity, and a disinterested Regard to the Public, in public Life, and pronounce ever Man a Fool who is not ready to act like a Knave. The

The Situation of *Great Britain*, the Character of her People, and the Nature of her Government, fit her for Trade and Commerce. By them we grow a rich and powerful Nation, and by their Decay we are growing poor and impotent. As Trade and Commerce enrich, so they fortify our Country. *Great Britain* stands in a certain Middle between *France* and the *United Provinces*, with regard to *Wealth* and *Power* arising from these Springs. A less, and a less constant, Application to the Improvement of these may serve the Ends of *France*, a greater is necessary in this Country; and a greater still in *Holland*. The *French* may improve the natural *Wealth* and *Power*, by the Improvement of Trade and Commerce; we can have no *Wealth*, nor *Power*, without the Improvement of them; the *Dutch* cannot subsist without them.—The Result of what has been said is, in *general*, that the *Wealth* and *Power* of all Nations depending so much on their Trade and Commerce, a good Government will be directed constantly to make the most of every Advantage that Nature has given, or Art can procure, towards the Improvement of Trade and Commerce. It results particularly, that *Great Britain* might improve her *Wealth* and *Power* in a Proportion superior to that of any Nation who can be deemed her Rival; if the Advantages she has were as wisely cultivated, as they will be in the Reign of a Patriot King. A

A Patriot King will neither neglect, nor sacrifice his Country's Interest. He will not multiply Taxes wantonly, nor keep up those unnecessarily which Necessity has laid, that he may keep up Legions of Tax-gatherers. He will not continue National Debts, by all sorts of political and other Profusion.

Whilst Nations are at an immense Charge in maintaining their Barriers, and perpetually on their Guard, and frequently embroiled to extend or strengthen them, *Great Britain* may, if her Governors please, accumulate Wealth in maintaining her's; make herself secure from Invasions, and be ready to invade others when her own immediate Interest, or *the general Interest of Europe require it*; I say the general Interest of *Europe*, because this alone should call our Councils off from an almost entire Application to their domestic and proper Business. It can never be our true Interest easily, and officiously, to enter into Action, much less into Engagements that imply Action and Expence. If we dissipate our Strength on Occasions that touch us remotely or indirectly, we are governed by Men who do not know the true Interest of this Island, or who have some other Interest more at Heart. If we adhere to it, so at least as to deviate little and seldom from it, as we shall do whenever we are wisely and honestly governed, then will this Nation make her proper Figure, and a
great

great one it will be. By a continual Attention to improve her natural, that is, her Maritime Strength, by collecting all her Forces within herself, and receiving them to be laid out on great Occasions, such as regard her immediate Interest and her Honour, or such as are truly important to the general System of Power in *Europe*, she may be *Arbitrator of Differences*, the *Guardian of Liberty*, and the Preserver of that *Balance* which has been so much talked of, and is so little understood.

We have not only departed too much from our true national Interest in this Respect, but we have done so with the general, even of well-meaning Men, who did not discern that we wasted ourselves by an improper Application of our Strength in Conjunctions, when we might have served the Common Cause far more usefully, nay with entire Effect, by a proper Application of our natural Strength.

There was something more than this. Armies grow so much in Fashion in Time of War, among Men who meant well to their Country, that they who meant ill to it have kept, and keep them still up in profoundest Peace. That they are kept up against Foreign Enemies, cannot be said with any Colour. If they are kept for a Show (or to *massacre our own Subjects*) they are ridiculous. If they are kept up for any other Purpose whatever, they are too dangerous to be suffered.

ferred. A *Patriot King*, seconded by Ministers attached to the true Interest of their Country, would soon reform this Abuse, and save a great Part of this Expence, or apply it in a Manner preferable, even to the saving it, to the Maintenance of Marine Foot, or to the Charge of a Register of thirty or forty Thousand Seamen. But no Thoughts like these, no great Designs for the Honour and Interest of the Kingdom, will be entertained, till Men who have this Honour and Interest at Heart arrive to Power.

I now come to the last Head, under which I shall consider the Character and Conduct of a Patriot King; his personal Behaviour, his Manner of living with other Men, and, in a Word, his private as well as public Life.

There is a certain *Species liberalis*, more easily understood than explained, and felt than defined, that must be acquired, and rendered habitual to him. A certain Property of Words and Actions, that results from the Conformity to Nature and Character, must always accompany him, and create an Air and Manner, that run uniformly through the whole Tenour of his Conduct and Behaviour; which Air and Manner are so far from any kind of Degree of Affectation, that they cannot be attained, except by him who is void of all Affectation.

No Men should be on their Guard so much as Princes; they are exposed to more and stronger

stronger Temptations, than others. Besides, the Elevation in which they are placed, as it gives them great Advantages, gives them great Disadvantages too, that often counter-vail the former. Thus for Instance, a little *Merit* in a Prince is seen and felt by Numbers; it is multiplied, as it were, and in Proportion to this Effect his Reputation is raised by it. But then, a little *Failing* is seen and felt by Numbers too; it is multiplied in the same Manner, and his Reputation sinks in the same Proportion.

The Faults and Defects, that may be concealed under the Blaze of great and shining Qualities, are such as arise from Constitution, and the *natural* rather than the *moral* Character; such as may be deemed accidental Starts of Passion, or accidental Remissness in some unguarded Hours; Surprizes of the Man on the King. If these happen seldom, and pass soon, they may be hid, like the Spots in the Sun, but they are Spots still. When they continue (for if they continue) they will *increase*, they are Spots no longer. They spread a general Shade, and obscure the Light in which they were drowned before.

The Virtues of the King are lost in the Vices of the Man. This *Decency*, this *Grace*, this *Propriety* of *Manners* to *Character*, is so essential to Princes in particular, that whenever it is neglected, their Virtues lose a great Degree of Lustre, and their Defects acquire

D

much

much Aggravation ; nay more, by neglecting this Decency and this Grace, and for want of a sufficient Regard to Appearances, even their Virtue and their Vices sink into Habits unworthy of Princes, and unworthy of Men.

Our *Elizabeth* saw how much Popularity depends on these Appearances, that depend on the Decorum, the Decency, the Grace, and the Propriety of Behaviour of which we are speaking. A warm Concern for the Interest and Honour of the Nation, a Tenderness for her People, and a Confidence in their Affections, were Appearances that run through her whole Conduct, and gave Life and Colour to it. She did great Things, and she knew how to set them off according to their full Value, by her Manner of doing them. In her *private Behaviour* she shewed great Affability, she descended even to Familiarity ; but her Familiarity was such as could not be imputed to her *Weakness*, and was therefore most justly ascribed to her *Goodness*.

Her Successor had no Virtues to set off, but he had Failings and Vices to conceal. He could not conceal the latter ; and void of the former, he could not compensate for them. His Failings and his Vices therefore standing in full View, he passed for a *weak Prince*, and an *ill Man*, and fell into all the Contempt wherein his Memory remains to this Day.

Let not Princes flatter themselves ; they will be examined closely in *private* as well as *public Life* ; and those who cannot pierce further, will judge of them by the Appearances they give in both. To obtain true Popularity, that which is founded in Esteem and Affection, they must therefore

fore maintain their Characters in *both*; and to that End neglect Appearances in neither, but observe the *Decorum* necessary to preserve the Esteem, whilst they win the Affections of Mankind. *Kings*, they must never forget that they are *Men*: *Men*, they must never forget that they are *Kings*.

That which is here recommended to Princes, that constant Guard on their own Behaviour, even in private Life, and that constant Decorum which their Examples ought to exact from others, will not be found so difficult in Practice as may be imagined; if they use a proper Discernment in the *Choice* of the *Persons* whom they admit to the nearest Degrees of *Intimacy* with them. A Prince should choose his *Companions* with as great Care as *Ministers*. If he trusts the *Business* of his State to these, he trusts his *Character* to those; and his Character will depend on theirs much more than is commonly thought.

He can never fill the Character of a *Patriot King*, though his personal great and good Qualities be in every other respect equal to it, who lies open to the Flattery of *Courtiers*, to the Seduction of Woman, and to the Particularities and Affections which are easily contracted by too great Indulgence in private Life; so the Prince who is desirous to establish this Character, must observe such a Decorum, and keep such a Guard on himself, as may prevent even the *Suspicion* of being liable to such Influences. For as the Reality would ruin, the very Suspicion will lessen him in the Opinion of Mankind, which is the *Fame* after Death, his superior *Strength* and *Power* in Life.

And now let us consider what the sure, the necessary Effects of such Principles and Measures of

Conduct must be to the Prince, and to the People; such I mean as are laid down in this Discourse, as necessary to constitute that greatest and most glorious of Human Beings, a *Patriot King*. Civil Fury will be soon subdued, bound, chained, and deprived entirely of Power to do Hurt. In his Palace, Concord will appear, brooding Peace and Prosperity on the happy Land; Joy sitting in every Face, Content in every Heart; a People unoppressed, undisturbed, unalarmed; busy to improve their private Property and the public Stock; Fleets covering the Ocean, bringing home Wealth by the Returns of Industry; carrying Assistance or Terror abroad by the Direction of Wisdom; and asserting triumphantly the Right and the Honour of *Great Britain*, as far as Waters roll and as Winds can waft them.

It is not to be dissembled that every Day produces strong Indications of an alarming Change in the Manners of the *English*. A Spirit of Luxury and Gaming seems to have seized, not the Effeminate and the Idle only, but also the more prudent, and even the commercial Ranks of People; so that it is to be feared the following View of our present Situation drawn by the late Dr. *Berkeley*, Bishop of *Cloyne*, one of the greatest Men this or any other Country has produced, is too just.—“It must be owned, says that masterly Writer, that little can be hoped, if we consider the corrupt degenerate Age we live in. I own it is an old Folly to make peevish Complaints of the Times, and charge the common Frailties of Human Nature on a particular Age. One may nevertheless venture to affirm, that the present has brought forth new and potent Villanies, not to be paralleled in our own or
any

any other History; we have long been preparing for some great Catastrophe. — Vice and Villany have by Degrees grown reputable amongst us; our Infidels have passed for fine Gentlemen, and our venal Traitors for Men of Sense, who knew the World. — We have made a Jest of Public Spirit, and cancelled all Respects for whatever our Laws and Religion repute sacred. The old *English* Modesty is quite worn off, and instead of blushing for our Crimes, we are ashamed only of Piety and Virtue. In short, other Nations have been wicked, but we are the first who have been wicked from Principle.”

The Truth is, our Symptoms are so bad, that it is to be feared the final Period of our State approaches. Strong Constitutions, whether politic or natural, do not feel light Disorders. But when they are sensibly affected, the Distemper is, for the most Part, violent and of ill Prognostic. Free Governments, like our own, were planted by the *Goths* in most Parts of *Europe*; and notwithstanding we all know what they are come to, yet seem disposed rather to follow their Examples, than profit by their Errors.

God grant the Time be not near, when Men shall say, this Island was once inhabited by a religious, brave, sincere People, of plain uncorrupt Manners, respecting inbred Worth, rather than Titles and Appearances; Assertors of Liberty, Lovers of their Country, jealous of their own Rights, and unwilling to infringe the Rights of others; Improvers of Learning and useful Arts; Enemies to Luxury, tender of other Men's Lives, and prodigal of their own; inferior in nothing to the old *Greeks* and *Romans*, and superior to each

of those People, in the Perfection of the other; such were our Ancestors during their Rise and Greatness; but they degenerated, adopted *Epicurean* Notions, became venal, corrupt, and injurious, which occasioned their final Ruin.

Still, however, there is an innate Strength in our Constitution, peculiar to ourselves. We are favoured with Advantages which no other Country ever equally enjoyed; and therefore it will be our own Faults, if we do not long continue a happy and a flourishing People.

“The Lord will enter into Judgment with the Ancients of his People, and the Princes thereof; for ye have eaten up the Vineyard, the Spoil of the Poor is in your Hands. What mean ye, that ye beat my People to Pieces, and grind the Faces of the Poor? saith the Lord God of Hosts.” *Isaiab* iii, v. 14, 15.

“And when ye spread forth your Hands, I will hide mine Eyes from you: Yea, when ye make many Prayers I will not hear: Your Hands are full of Blood. Wash ye, make you clean, put away the Evil of your Doings from before mine Eyes. Cease to do Evil, learn to do well, seek Judgment, relieve the Oppressed, judge the Fatherless, plead for the Widow.—Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: Though your Sins be as Scarlet, they shall be as white as Snow; though they be red like Crimson, they shall be as Wool.—If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the Good of the Land; but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the Sword; for the Mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.—How is the faithful City become an Harlot! It was full of Judgment, Righteousness lodged in it: But now Murderers.” *Isaiab* i. v. 15. to 21. “Thy

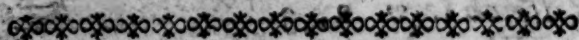
“Thy Princes are rebellious, and Companions of Thieves : every one loveth Gifts, and followeth after Rewards : they judge not the Fatherless, neither doth the Cause of the Widow come unto them.” *Isaiab* i. v. 2, 3.

“Many Kings have sat down upon the Ground, and one that was never thought of, hath worn the Crown.” *Ecclesiasticus* xi. v. 5.

F I N I S.



P R A Y E R S.



P R A Y E R I.

O Almighty God, continually give to his Majesty, a large Heart, and comprehensible Understanding, that he may see far and near, and fetch within its Compass all Circumstances, Consequents, and Moments that are requisite to the forming of a perfect Judgment concerning our great Affairs. And may his Majesty's Reign be that of a Patriot King, and may it be happy and glorious in attaining those Ends. *Amen. Amen.*

P R A Y E R II. PSALM 140.

O Lord God, thou Strength of our Health, thou that avengest the Poor, and maintainest the Cause of the Helpless, deliver us, O Lord, and preserve us from the evil and wicked Man, that neither his Example may corrupt us, nor his Counsels mislead us, nor his Prosperity scandalize us, nor his Strife disquiet us, nor his Mischief disturb our Safety; but do thou cover our Heads in the Day of Battle and Contestation against all our Bodily and Ghostly Enemies; that although they hunt us to overthrow us, yet we may prosper upon Earth under thy Favour and Protection; and at last being removed from all Fears, Sadness, and Dangers, we may continue in thy Sight amongst the Congregation of the Just for ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

